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Senate

(Legislative day of Monday, July 10, 1995)

The Senate met at 9 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, whose mercies are new every morning and whose presence sustains us through the day, we seek to glorify You in all we do and say. You provide us strength for the day, guidance in our decisions, vision for the way, courage in adversity, help from above, unflinching empathy, and unlimited love. You never leave us or forsake us; nor do You ask of us more than You will provide the resources to accomplish. Here are our minds, think Your thoughts in them; here are our hearts, express Your love and encouragement through them; here are our voices, speak Your truth through them.

We dedicate this day to discern and do Your will. We trust in You, dear God, and ask You to continue to bless America through the leadership of the women and men of this Senate. Help them as they grapple with the problems and grasp Your potential for the crucial issues before them today. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able acting majority leader is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, on behalf of the majority leader, for the benefit of my colleagues, I would like to announce the Senate schedule.

Leader time is reserved. There will be a period of morning business until 10

a.m. this morning. At 10 a.m. the Senate will resume consideration of S. 343, the regulatory reform bill, with the Glenn substitute amendment pending.

The Senate will then stand in recess from 12:30 to 2:15 p.m., to accommodate the respective party luncheons. At 2:15 p.m., under a previous order, there will be two consecutive rollcall votes. The first will be a 15-minute vote on the Glenn substitute amendment, followed by a vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the Dole-Johnston substitute amendment, which will be 10 minutes in length.

The votes ordered for 2:15 p.m. are not necessarily the first votes of the day. Rollcall votes are expected throughout the day and a late night session is possible in order to make progress on the regulatory reform bill.

Finally, Senators are reminded that under rule XXII, second-degree amendments to the Dole-Johnston substitute must be filed by 12:30 p.m. today in order to qualify postcloture. Also, in connection with the third cloture motion, filed yesterday on the Dole-Johnston substitute, any further first-degree amendments must be filed by 12:30 p.m. today.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMITH). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business.

The Senator from South Carolina.

THE CRISIS IN BOSNIA

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, last week the Bosnian town of Srebrenica, a so-called U.N. protected area, fell to Bosnian Serbs. In scenes reminiscent of the genocide of World War II, Serb troops rounded up Bosnian Moslems and forcibly expelled thousands of women, children, and the elderly from their homes. Military-age men were held captive, and there are reports that some have been murdered. Rapes and other atrocities are reported as well.

This week Zepa, another U.N. protected area in eastern Bosnia, is about to fall to the Serbs. The U.N. protected area of Gorazde is under attack. Serbs inside the U.N. exclusion zone around Sarajevo are shelling the city and killing innocent civilians in that U.N. protected area. In the northeast, the U.N. safe haven of Bihac remains cut off and threatened.

Throughout Bosnia today, we see the triumph of Serbian aggression, aided and abetted by confusion and inaction on the part of the United Nations and the Western democracies.

Mr. President, what is the response of the Western democracies to the atrocities and brutal aggression of the Serbs? The response is another U.N. Security Council resolution, calling on the Secretary General to restore the safe haven of Srebrenica. In Bosnia, the United Nations spokesmen issue more empty threats, hollow denunciations, and vain demands. It would be better to say nothing at all than to engage in such futile bluster, which only invites the contempt of the world.

One definition of stupidity is to do the same thing over and over again and expect a different result. This certainly characterizes the policy of the administration and our Western allies. Its failure is apparent for anyone to see,

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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and yet we persist in following the same discredited course.

UNPROFOR has been emasculated and cannot protect its own forces, much less the U.N. protected areas, which are becoming traps for desperate Bosnians who relied upon U.N. promises. Humanitarian aid is being blocked. It is clear that the Bosnian Serbs are in control of the situation, and the United Nations is allowed to carry out its mission only when the Bosnian Serbs allow it. In short, UNPROFOR cannot carry out the U.N. Security Council mandates that justify its presence. Despite good intentions and valiant efforts, UNPROFOR has failed—failed on its own terms. Now humiliation and disgrace are compounding the failure.

What does it take, Mr. President? When will the U.N., the United States, and our allies accept the reality that the Bosnian crisis has deteriorated beyond our ability to salvage it?

Britain, France, and Holland have pinned their hopes on the new rapid reaction force. They are sending in 12,000 more troops to support UNPROFOR. Out of solidarity with our allies, the United States is providing sealift, airlift, and military equipment. But in my view, the rapid reaction force is not going to prevent the situation from deteriorating further, or stop the Serbs from overrunning of the safe havens. The rapid reaction force has been rendered ineffective before it ever got off the ground. As long as it remains under U.N. operational control it will not be rapid, nor reactive, nor even a force.

I do not understand why the administration persists in supporting the status quo no matter how discredited the current policy becomes. Administration officials have testified numerous times that the United States does not have sufficient national interests at stake in Bosnia to justify sending American ground troops and becoming a combatant in the conflict. I agree completely, and so do the American people. Administration officials have also testified that the best way to serve the national interests of the United States is to keep UNPROFOR in Bosnia so that it can work to limit the suffering of the innocent, and to keep the conflict from spreading while the contact group seeks a diplomatic solution.

I wholeheartedly support the goals of relieving the suffering and containing the conflict. What I can no longer support is the proposition that the status quo, which relies upon an ineffectual U.N. peacekeeping mission and more diplomatic efforts, is the best way to achieve these goals. I am forced to ask: How many more diplomatic discussions have to take place? Intense diplomacy has been going on for years without any resolution.

The Administration appears to believe that the responsibility for any resulting disaster will fall on the United States if UNPROFOR withdraws. I do not agree. The world community

placed the fate of Bosnia in the hands of the United Nations, but the United Nations has been unable to keep a non-existent peace. That is no more the fault of the United States than of any other U.N. member. In any case, the world cannot be blamed for trying a collective approach. But there is plenty of blame to go around if the United States and our allies persist in following a course that has clearly failed. Increasing the number of U.N. peacekeepers or keeping UNPROFOR in Bosnia will only prolong the agony, complicate matters further, and block the possibility of other solutions.

Mr. President, the situation in Bosnia is terribly complex, and there are no easy answers. Any course of action has potential pitfalls. But there is also a penalty for doing nothing, or for remaining mired in the status quo.

In my view, the administration has failed to properly evaluate the damage to U.S. leadership and credibility, and to the Western alliance, from supporting the status quo. The credibility of NATO as well as of the United Nations have been severely undermined. It is a serious mistake to continue subordinating NATO to the United Nations out of a misguided desire to restore the United Nations lost credibility. The longer the present situation continues, the greater the damage to the health and solidarity of the Western alliance. We cannot afford to let NATO to become a casualty of the Bosnian tragedy.

The fall of Srebrenica and the imminent fall of Zepa make it quite clear—UNPROFOR has become impotent and must withdraw. There is no excuse for leaving U.N. troops in such a dangerous and untenable position any longer. There is no excuse for continuing to incur the huge expense of the failed U.N. mission. We can no longer tolerate a policy based on denial and avoidance of reality.

I believe it is past time for the Congress to focus its attention on getting the U.N. out of Bosnia. If the administration is reluctant to support a U.N. withdrawal because it fears a negative political reaction, then now is the time for Congress to show leadership, and to make it clear that the United States will assist in extricating our allies from the Bosnian quagmire. But we must work together—the executive branch and Congress—and reach a consensus as soon as possible. Further delays in getting ready to execute the NATO withdrawal plan will push the plan's execution into the winter months, making it far more difficult and dangerous for United States and NATO troops to carry out.

Mr. President, Congress needs to send a clear signal now to the President that we will support the participation of U.S. troops in a U.N. withdrawal operation. Of course, as the President has agreed, it must be totally under NATO command. Once our troops are committed, there can no longer be any dual-key arrangement between the

United Nations and NATO. There must also be robust rules of engagement, allowing the use of overwhelming force for any attacks on NATO or on UNPROFOR. The scope and duration of the withdrawal mission must be limited. I do not advocate a date certain for ending it, but it must end promptly when all UNPROFOR and NATO troops are safely out. It must not be transformed at some point into a peace enforcement mission.

Mr. President, the United States cannot stand idly by while U.N. troops from allied nations are in mortal danger. The damage to U.S. leadership, honor, prestige, and credibility would be beyond calculation. These are not mere words. Credibility, prestige, and national honor are essential components of national security, as they have always been. They are especially important if we are to exercise the moral leadership expected of the world's only superpower.

If Americans want to remain secure in today's violent and chaotic world, we must never permit doubts to exist in the minds of friends or enemies that our word is good, or that we can be relied upon to stand with our allies, or that we will keep our commitments. The credibility that comes from demonstrated steadfastness of purpose is a key aspect of deterrence. It is an essential though intangible element of global power, and of the necessary relations between states. A great nation cannot remain great very long without it.

That is why we must end the charade of the U.N. presence in Bosnia, stand with our allies by assisting them to disengage, and then turn our attention to longer term solutions that will stop the agony in that troubled land.

I thank the Chair, and yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Georgia, Senator NUNN, is recognized to speak for up to 30 minutes.

INEFFECTUAL U.N. PROTECTION FORCES IN BOSNIA

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, I too want to discuss the subject which the Senator from South Carolina has just addressed.

Mr. President, I believe that the continued presence of the ineffectual U.N. Protection Forces in Bosnia is eroding the credibility of the United Nations, of NATO, and of the United States.

I agree with the points that Senator THURMOND just made. In particular, I agree that the executive branch and the Congress must work together and reach a consensus as soon as possible. This situation is bad enough without the President and the Congress being in a big fight here. So we need to find a way to work together.

The second point that I agree with that Senator THURMOND made is that now is the time for the Congress to show leadership and to make it clear